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ABSTRACT

This document presents a speech concerned with the administration of higher education in an era of change and conflict. Emphasis is placed on the variable context of administration, change, conflict, and responses to the new context. The role and the fate of the president are discussed as indicative of the position in which other administrative officers have found themselves in the past and do find themselves now. Responses to this speech are included.

(MJM)

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The Administration of Higher Education in an Era of Change and Conflict

by
Clark Kerr

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
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First David D. Henry Lecture
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

October 10-11, 1972

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Preface

The publication of the first David D. Henry Lecture by Clark Kerr and the responses by Professor Harry S. Broudy and Vice-President Eldon Johnson is the second step in the establishment of a tradition for an annual presentation of current knowledge, analysis, and interpretation of the administration of higher education. The David D. Henry Lectures were established by the University of Illinois Board of Trustees. The lectureship was endowed by gifts from alumni for this purpose to the University of Illinois Foundation and is administered under the auspices of the Committee of Chancellors in honor of Dr. David D. Henry, who served as president of the University of Illinois for sixteen years until his retirement in August of 1971.

Dr. Henry's career included positions as executive vice-chancellor of New York University from 1952 to 1955 and president of Wayne State University in Detroit, Michigan, from 1945 to 1952. In earlier assignments, he served as instructor in English at The Pennsylvania State University, as professor of English, dean of men, and director of the School of Liberal Arts at Battle Creek College, Michigan, and as assistant superintendent of public instruction for higher education in the state of Michigan. His work at Wayne began in 1935 as assistant to the executive vice-president. He was executive vice-president, the chief resident executive officer under the superintendent of schools, from 1939 to 1945.

Since his retirement from the presidency in August of 1971, Dr. Henry has served as distinguished professor of higher education at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, providing graduate students with the opportunity to learn directly what Dr. Henry has been teaching indirectly by practice in various administrative positions for many years.

The first Henry Lecture, hosted by Chancellor J. W. Peltason, has provided an occasion for faculty, students, and the general public to learn about the administration of higher education and to raise issues for discussion in open forum with one of the best-known scholars in the United States. The publication of his address and the remarks by a

distinguished professor and a nationally recognized administrator provide a reference for use by graduate students and faculty interested in the study of the administration of higher education. This publication marks the beginning of what is planned to become an annual presentation and publication of significant new knowledge on the administration of institutions of higher education. The Division of Higher Education faculty members are pleased to have Distinguished Professor David D. Henry as a colleague and to present this publication in his honor.

Ernest F. Anderson, *Editor*
Chairman, Division of
Higher Education

Introduction

The David D. Henry Lectureship at the University of Illinois was established by friends of the University to honor a man and to further the profession to which that man still dedicates his life. Following the announcement of the establishment of the lectureship, President Emeritus and Distinguished Professor of Higher Education Henry commented that he hoped the lectures and publications made possible by the program would mark the University of Illinois as a center of learning in the field of educational administration which would serve both the University and the profession.

With the lecture given by Clark Kerr, the David D. Henry Lectures have made a brilliant start toward meeting David Henry's hope. In an era when it is said by some that no "giants" exist in our profession, the first Henry Lecture has brought together two men who belie that statement. It is my privilege to know and to have learned from both men. We at the University of Illinois are pleased that the esteem in which our colleague, David D. Henry, is held has made possible this first Henry Lecture by Clark Kerr. It is my bias that today's world brings renewed significance to the profession of educational administration, to its theory, and to its practice. This volume begins a series which will make a new contribution to that profession, and we present it with pride and with enthusiasm.

John E. Corbally Jr.
President
University of Illinois

The Administration of Higher Education in an Era of Change and Conflict

By Clark Kerr

Chairman, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education

The David D. Henry Lectures — the first of which I am so greatly privileged to present — honor the most experienced university administrator in the United States today. No one else currently active has had so long and so broad a career in public and in private higher education, in small and in large institutions, as a teacher, as a dean of students, as an extension supervisor, as a department chairman, as a dean of liberal arts, as a state administrator of public instruction, as a vice-president and president, as the national leader of each of the associations with which he has been identified — the Association of Urban Universities, the Land-Grant Association, the American Association of Universities, the American Council on Education, among others. And he now serves as chairman of the National Board on Graduate Education established by the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils. In fact, I know of no one, in all of the history of higher education in the United States, who has served higher education in so many capacities and has been called to the top position of leadership in so many organizations engaged in furthering the welfare of higher education. It is most appropriate that a series of lectures on the "Administration of Higher Education" should have been created carrying the name of such an all-around practitioner of the art of administration.

I came to know Dave Henry after he had become president of the University of Illinois, and first as head of a competitive institution and then later from a position that has provided some opportunity to view higher education more generally, I have greatly admired the develop-

ment of the University under his leadership. One-half of the University, as it now stands, has been built during his presidency, which has seen the greatest growth period in the century since the University was founded and probably the greatest era of expansion that it ever will go through as far as one can now see ahead. The University has come a long way since it opened as the Illinois Industrial University with fifty students, two faculty members and one president, and the assignment of furthering "Agriculture, and the Mechanic Arts and Military Tactics"; and the longest strides on that long way were taken under Dave Henry as its twelfth president.

Some of these strides have had national significance, and I should like to note five in particular:

The creation of the Chicago Circle campus as a model for urban universities everywhere.

The establishment of experimental new clinical medical schools which will, I believe, set a pattern for many other medical schools elsewhere.

The expansion of the programs for the visual and performing arts, with great new facilities, to levels seldom matched and never surpassed elsewhere.

The extension of the library system, including the undergraduate library, to a richness of resources beyond that of any other post-Civil War institution and exceeded by only two pre-Revolutionary War universities.

The creation of the PLATO System as the most advanced in the nation in the use of computers for instructional purposes.

Many people, of course, have worked on each of these programs, but the president, above all others, influences the priorities, finds the money, approves the plans. The priorities chosen here, I believe, have been the right ones, including the greater service to a leading metropolitan center, the substantial expansion of health care training, the elevation of attention to the arts to match that earlier given to the other great streams of intellectual thought and creative intelligence — the physical sciences, the biological sciences, the humanities and the social sciences, the augmentation of the libraries, the experimentation with the new technology. Each of these priorities serves the future even more than it does the present, and that is one main test of any system of priorities.

Dave Henry has also engineered the transition of the University of Illinois from being a centralized entity to becoming a decentralized

system. This will probably stand as the major single reorganization in the history of the University. That it was done well is witnessed by the overwhelming faculty senate vote on each campus in favor of staying within the system.

With all of these and many other contributions to the University, I doubt, however, that Dave Henry has been able to fulfill one major proviso of the founding charter which, if fully enforced by state authorities, would lead to closing down the University entirely:

"That no student shall at any time be allowed to remain in or about the University in idleness, or without full mental or industrial occupation."

Dave has been able to accomplish only the possible, not the impossible.

At the national level, I have seen Dave Henry as a leading — sometimes *the* leading — spokesman for some ideas of central importance to higher education:

The Land-Grant idea — which got its start here in Illinois — of service to the people generally and of equality of opportunity for youth in particular;

The necessity of essential institutional independence as against incorporation into the bureaucracy of state agencies, and as against the intrusion of partisan politics into university affairs; and the parallel obligation of the university to maintain its own non-partisan institutional neutrality;

The need for increasing federal assistance to higher education, as more of the concerns of higher education are national in scope and, also, as the federal government has more of the money;

The desirability, for the sake of the nation, of giving a higher priority to the support of higher education, in money and in esteem, as the "grandest of enterprises" working for greater wealth and welfare.

At a more personal level, having served with Dave in several associations and joint endeavors, I have most admired one quality in particular, and that is his good judgment — his ability to know the dimensions of a situation and his capacity to choose the best course for its improvement. The weight of his judgment is enhanced by the calm and quiet manner in which he presents it, after those with more passion and less wisdom have subsided. He has the art of presenting the one most constructive suggestion at the carefully chosen most appropriate moment, and of advancing it in a fashion that does not challenge personal opposition.

Among the brethren of university presidents, however, after all this record of accomplishments has been noted, there are only two tests that really count. One is longevity. At the annual meeting of the American Association of Universities, a seniority list is placed on the table before each president as he sits down, and in one recent year a person starting his third year as president was in the group that was already half way up that list. Sixteen years, by comparison, is an eternity. The other test is whether or not there is a happy ending, and not only the history of the University of Illinois demonstrates that not all presidential endings are happy. Most presidents under current circumstances pass neither test; some pass one test but not the other; and few pass both tests -- Dave Henry among them.

May I conclude this section of my remarks by saying that the most qualified person to give this series of lectures on the "Administration of Higher Education" would be Dave Henry.

My own remarks on this subject will deal with it broadly, partly because this is the first lecture in what will be a series of lectures. Also, while speaking more generally about administration, I shall concentrate on the role and the fate of the president as indicative of the position in which other administrative officers have found themselves in the past and do find themselves now.

The variable context of administration.

Administration, defined as continuing arrangements for the conduct of affairs by organizations, is almost eternally much the same in appearance -- the daily arrangements must always be made. The administrator sees people, handles paper, makes decisions; and all this goes on endlessly. The tasks look much the same but the mood and the tempo of the effort rise and fall. Higher education in the United States is a case in point. The administration of higher education in America has passed through four major stages and is now entering upon a fifth -- the most difficult passage of all.

1. The first stage lasted from 1636, when Harvard was founded, until just after the Civil War. This was the stage of the church-dominated board and the minister as president -- nineteen of the first twenty-one presidents of Harvard were ministers. The institutions were quite small -- Harvard had about 400 students and twenty faculty members in 1860. They were also quite static. They taught the classics and the Bible in traditional ways, mostly by way of recitations. Administration was heavily involved in the administration of the students, in enforcing *in loco parentis* rules, and in providing faculty members who were also good proctors. The president was essentially a dean of students.

2. The second stage was dramatically different. This was the age

of the presidential giant — of White at Cornell, of Eliot at Harvard, of Angell at Michigan, of Gilman at Hopkins, of Harper at Chicago, of Van Hise at Wisconsin, of Jordan at Stanford, of Wheeler at California, among many others. White fought any denominational bias in the selection of faculty members, of students, and of subjects to teach — he later wrote a book entitled *The History of Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*; and he treated students as men, not wards. Eliot brought in a system of electives so complete in the transformation of the classical curriculum that only two courses ultimately were required and both of them in the freshman year, a three-year program (now once again being suggested), modernized professional schools, and the ideas of tenure and sabbaticals. Angell took over a state university in the Midwest and opened it up simultaneously to the "great world of scholars" and to the placing of "generous culture within the reach of the humblest and poorest child of the soil." Gilman emphasized science and a graduate school for the academic disciplines. Harper innovated the idea of the community college, the quarter system, the regular summer school (year-round operations), the divisional organization of the academic disciplines, and university extension. Van Hise took university service out into the state, not only into agriculture but even into the legislative halls where faculty members drafted bills as never before or since — "the borders of the campus" were really "the boundaries of the state." The university played a central role in the progressive movement. Jordan and Wheeler created modern universities on the far West Coast; Jordan from scratch and Wheeler by transforming an existing institution.

This was the age of the president. Eliot when asked by a faculty member in the medical school why there had to be change after eighty years of stability could answer: "There is a new president." And a recent history of the early University of Chicago is called quite appropriately: "Harper's Chicago." Eliot and Angell each served as president for forty years; and the others also for what would now be considered long terms.

3. The third stage came after World War I. The great transformation had taken place and higher education had settled down into its largely modernized form. Faculty members gained greater authority; academic senates were created; academic freedom was enhanced; the American Association of University Professors came to set the basic policies for academic life. This was the age of the faculty. Administrators assumed a lower profile; they became more the servants of the faculty than its masters, as they once had been. Among the outstanding presidents of the time were the counterrevolutionaries. Lowell at Harvard limited electives by introducing breadth and depth requirements and initiated the "houses" as more controlled environments for

students; Hutchins at Chicago promoted the "great books" as against specialization and vocationalism; Aydelotte at Swarthmore introduced the British-type honor's program; and Meiklejohn at Amherst and Wisconsin sponsored a broad study of history. They each looked back to the forms and the content of earlier times.

4. A fourth stage came after World War II. There were 1.2 million students enrolled in 1944; 2.3 million in 1950; 3.5 million in 1960; and 8.5 million in 1970. Science research exploded. Federal funds to universities for science research were about \$100 million in 1950; about \$500 million in 1960; and about \$1.5 billion in 1970. Research universities, in particular, became big businesses. The University of Illinois now has 20,000 employees and an annual budget of over \$300 million; by contrast, the budget for the academic year 1955-56, when Dave Henry became president, was just \$60 million. And the University of Illinois alone now has as many students as were enrolled in all of higher education in 1870. Teachers' colleges became comprehensive colleges, and hundreds of community colleges were founded in this postwar era. The university and college presidents during this period mostly devoted their lives to growth, to plans for the future, to new projects. The great exception to this devotion to growth was the segment composed by the private liberal arts colleges.

The president, in the first stage, was essentially a minister; in the second, often a revolutionary giant; in the third, a civil servant for the faculty and of the *status quo*, and sometimes a proponent of the *status quo ante*; and, in the fourth, an executor of growth. The presidency, and the administration generally, were relatively unimportant in the first and the third of these periods, and relatively important in the second and the fourth. There were always exceptions, of course, but this was the general course and tenor of development.

5. Now we are entering a fifth period, I believe, and this period will be marked by change. But in which direction? And by conflict. But how intense? And how will change and conflict affect administration? I shall discuss, first, the possible impact of change, and, second, the impact of conflict on higher education, and, then, briefly how change and conflict may affect administration generally and particularly the role of presidents, of deans, of department chairmen, of student personnel staff members, and of student leaders. But, in another retrospective glance, I should first like to note how higher education, and thus also its administration, have been related to society—the first stage of higher education related to a rural and commercial culture heavily influenced by religious views; the second to the "take-off" period of an industrializing nation under the influence of strong populist pressures; the third to a more slowly advancing society—even a contracting one during the Great Depression; and the fourth to a

nation-state newly dominant in world affairs and increasingly subject internally to the rapidly rising expectations of nearly all of its citizens for more opportunity. How higher education goes in the future will also depend, in substantial measure, on how American society develops; and that we do not know with any certainty.

Change.

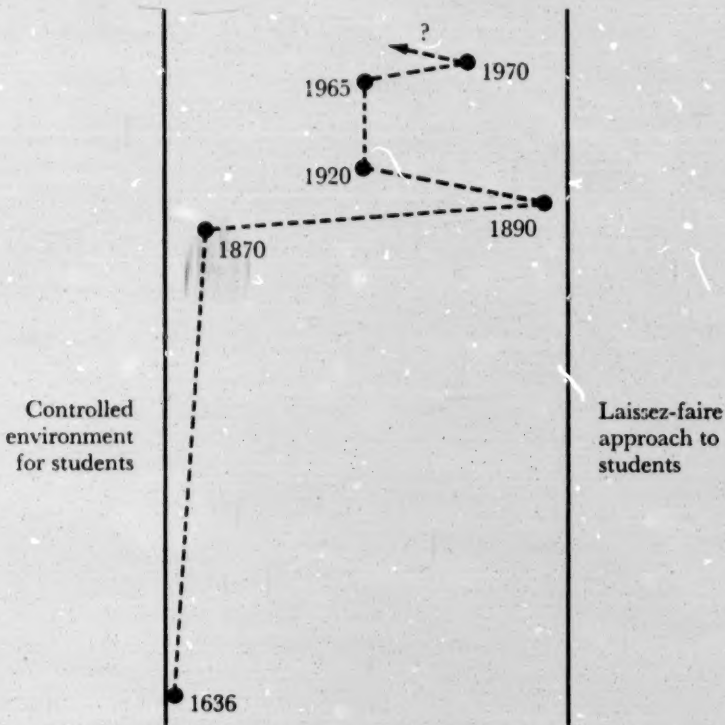
The last period (1945-70) was marked by great growth. Now growth is a type of change, but this particular period of growth took the form of changes in largely established directions — such as more students and more scientific research. Change in *new* directions *may* come to mark the current period, which I shall define as the two decades from 1970 to 1990. But this is problematical, and I shall suggest, as an alternative, a completely contrary possibility.

Where are we really? I should like to present two versions of where we may stand.

The first hypothesis is that we stand in a new position, but still inside the framework that has existed for the past century. The boundaries of this framework have been and still are, on the one side, the controlled environment for students as represented by the classical college, and, on the other side, the laissez-faire approach toward students as represented by Harvard in the 1890s when there were almost no course requirements and little supervision of students; they were on their own as in the German universities. No longer was there compulsory chapel; no longer was class attendance compulsory; no longer did it require special permission to go into Boston or to attend the theatre anywhere. From 1636 to 1870, we had moved only slightly away from the controlled environment. Then the great revolution took place, and we suddenly moved almost to the other extreme of the fully independent student. Then, particularly after 1910, we moved back again with breadth and depth requirements, and the rise of the student personnel movement; but only part way. Recently we have moved again toward laissez-faire, with fewer requirements, pass-fail grading, relaxed student rules, but only part way back to 1890. This view would lead one to expect that the next move will again be a partial return toward 1870. In fact, faculty members are already seeking to draw back on the concessions made to students in recent years. In other words, we have been vibrating within the same boundaries, but with a reduced swing each time; each time approaching what might be considered to be the long-term normal in-between "golden mean" position (see chart 1).

Proponents of this view can note that, despite the great pressures of the student movement in recent years, relatively little has changed on campus by way of governance or academic conduct; that the stu-

Chart 1
The Swings of Academic Change



dent movement has turned out to be an unguided missile that soon spent its force; that faculty members are at all times and in all places on the side of the internal status quo; and that administrators do not actively seek the trouble for them that almost any change entails. As a consequence, having moved slightly in one direction, we shall now move even more slightly back again. The vibrations that started in 1870 will continue but with constantly diminishing amplitude.

This may turn out to be the realistic vision of where we are, but I doubt it. I believe that the forces I shall note below are strong enough to require greater change than this view suggests and that these changes will not take place solely within the same frame of reference — rather that higher education will move in some substan-

tially new directions. Thus, this second view holds that we are not still just vibrating from the great climacteric of 1870 but that we are entering into a new climacteric that will lead to some new developments. On balance I do believe that this will be a period of new developments because of the basic forces at work on higher education, and I should like to set forth, quite briefly, several of them.

1. Higher education faces a demographic change of life. It has doubled in enrollments about every decade to a decade-and-a-half for the past century; and in the decade of the 1960s it more than duplicated the totality of the growth from 1636 to 1960. In the 1970s, enrollments will grow by one-half; and the 1980s, they will not grow at all. Beginning with 1990 they will probably grow once again and at the rate of increase of the general growth in the population, whatever that may be. The 1980s represent a trough between the children of the GI's of World War II and the grandchildren of the GI's. The longer term decline in the rate of increase in enrollments reflects the exhaustion of the rise in the percentage of the age group going to college, which started at less than 2 percent in 1870, is now about 50 percent, and is unlikely to rise above — or at least much above — two-thirds, as far as we can now tell.

Many consequences will flow from this demographic fact of life. Fewer new campuses will be created; fewer new buildings will be erected on existing campuses; the physical plant will age as it has in the inner cities. Budgets will be harder to procure from the public. The main argument for more money, for a century, has been that there were always more students; but the time will come soon when there are no more students — in some years in the mid-1980s, there will be fewer students, yet higher education will need more money, not only because of inflation but also because it experiences no measurable productivity increase, and thus its costs rise faster than those for the economy as a whole. In the long run, they have risen by about 2.5 percent per year per student in real terms (3.5 percent in the 1960s). Higher education in 1990 will be asking for \$10 billion more 1970 dollars, if past trends continue, than in 1980 to offset this rise in real costs per student per year, even though there are no additional students; and this compares with total expenditures of a little over \$20 billion in 1970. Will the funds be forthcoming? The lack of productivity increase will become a widely discussed naked fact instead of a harsh reality hidden behind the cloak of expanding numbers. The financial recession of today for higher education may become a long term secular depression.

New hiring will go down. The faculty will age. If current trends continue, less than one percent of the faculty in 1990 will be thirty-one years of age or younger. The proportion of faculty members with tenure

will rise, again if present trends continue, from the current 50 percent to 75 to 85 percent by 1985. The faculty will become more conservative as it ages, and less flexible in adapting to new situations as it is more fully "tenured-in."

Necessary changes internally will be harder to effectuate as budgets become tighter, and the faculty becomes more entrenched in tenure. New programs instead of being "add-ons," will need to be replacements — and it is hard to replace anything in the academic world.

May the pace of academic life change — become less frenetic than in the recent past, more slow motion? Will there be the same sense of vitality, of higher expectations for the future? May higher education become more like the railroad industry is already in the tone of its activity?

2. A second fact of life is the changing labor market situation for college graduates. Historically, except for severe depressions, appropriate jobs have always been available. Now there is a surplus of teachers at all levels. The only deficit is in the health care field and that will be eliminated by the end of this decade. The United States Department of Labor estimates that only 20 percent of all jobs in 1980 will require more than a high school education, yet 50 percent of the age group now goes to college. Many of those who have attended college will need to take jobs that do not actually require their college training. The continuing absorptive capacity of society for high level manpower may well be less than the productive capacity of higher education.

This will require some changes on and off campus. On campus, student interests will become more volatile as they seek to anticipate the future labor market situation. Already undergraduate enrollments in education are going down; and in the biological sciences, leading to health care professions, they are going up. However, if a college education is comparatively less important in leading to a good job, it will become comparatively more important in leading to a good life. This may well draw students more toward the creative arts and the humanities. Off campus, the comparative surplus of academically trained persons will lead to lesser pay differentials for the occupations they fill and a continuation of the long term rise in the comparative pay for less academically trained persons. This will look like greater social justice to members of the latter group but like gross discrimination to members of the former. Also, jobs will have to be redesigned to reflect the new characteristics of the labor force — made more interesting and less routine, given more responsibility, generally enriched and enlarged. I see a whole new profession arising to handle job design.

3. Public control is intensifying and not just in the United States. This is an era for educational planning, just as for planning in many

other fields. More money is being spent—and particularly more public money; more families have an interest in the opportunities available for their children through higher education; and higher education is more involved with political movements and new styles of life. As it has become more central to society, society has become more concerned with it. Full autonomy—to the extent it ever existed—is dead, although independence of action in “reserved” areas is still almost always possible and is highly essential. The greatest change in governance now going on is not the rise of student power or faculty power but the rise of public power; the governance of higher education is less and less by higher education and also less for higher education. Just as state budget experts, legislative committees, governors, even the courts, become more involved with the campus, so also will the campus, not just as a whole through its president but often in some of its parts—student lobbies and faculty unions, for example—become more involved with public authority. *The “ivory tower” of yore is now becoming a regulated public utility.*

If the campus becomes more conservative in its chosen conduct, for demographic or other reasons, this may additionally encourage external interference to force change.

4. The students are changing in several ways. More are drawn from lower income homes, and thus from lower quality high schools, and need more remedial work. More are drawn from minority racial and ethnic groups, and demand and deserve more attention to the cultures of their origin. More are “sliders” down the meritocratic pyramid, at the same time that most students are still climbing up it; and these “sliders” are less oriented toward academic work in general and vocational studies in particular—a few colleges are already being directed toward their more experiential interests. But the major overall change is the new interest of many students in the academic environment. No longer is it taken for granted as the sole preserve of the faculty and administration. Studies undertaken for the Carnegie Commission indicate that students quite generally are demanding these several developments: more attention to teaching, a more relevant curriculum, more concern for their emotional growth, more opportunities for creative activity, and renewed devotion to general education.

These demands do not mean that students are widely dissatisfied with their colleges. The situation is quite to the contrary. Only one in eight undergraduates is “dissatisfied” or “very dissatisfied,” and the level of satisfaction is highest in the great research universities, like the University of Illinois, where only one in twelve expresses one or the other of these two degrees of dissatisfaction. This higher mark for the “multiversity” runs against common public opinion, but it appears to be a clear fact. It is particularly surprising because students who

call themselves left politically — and those on the left are most disposed to be critical of higher education — are comparatively more numerous in the research university (see Table 1). But within this high level of satisfaction with college in general, and the research university in particular, do exist the specific dissatisfactions noted above. They deserve special consideration because they do not reflect an all-pervasive disenchantment but, rather, specific grievances. Students want more to say about certain aspects of their educational experience, and they are increasingly (and I think fortunately) being placed on committees where their voices can be heard and their votes counted.

5. The new electronic technology is another force for change. It is the first major technological revolution affecting higher education in the 500 years since the Gutenberg Bible; and, during this half a

Table 1

Dissatisfaction of Undergraduates with Their College and Self-Described Political Leaning as Left by Type of Institution

Type of institution	Percent dissatisfied or very dissatisfied	Percent describing themselves as left politically
Doctoral-granting		
<i>Heavy emphasis on research</i>	8	14
<i>Moderate emphasis on research</i>	8	6
<i>Moderate emphasis on doctoral</i>	15	6
<i>Limited emphasis on doctoral</i>	16	6
Nondoctoral		
<i>Comprehensive programs</i>	14	4
<i>Limited programs</i>	11	6
Liberal arts college		
I	12	10
II	15	5
Two-year colleges	11	3
All institutions	12	5

Source: Carnegie Commission Survey

Note: Students who describe themselves as left politically are more inclined to express dissatisfaction with their college experience:

Left	31.2 percent
Liberal	15.8 percent
Middle of the road	8.5 percent
Strongly or moderately conservative	7.2 percent
Total	12.3 percent

millennium, an industrial revolution has swept around the world at large. Electronic technology has greatly affected research, is affecting administration, is entering library operations, and will increasingly be used in instruction. The two major impacts in higher education still to come are: one, the transformation of the library for books, periodicals, and documents into a more centrally important learning resource center, and, two, extension of access to the subject matter of higher education into the work place and into the home — the new technology will lead to the new and greatly enlarged extension service. A more minor impact will be on instruction on campus.

6. We have been concerned in recent years with equality of opportunity to enter college. But the greater inequality, and a growing one, has been between those who do go to college and those who do not. I believe that attention will now turn to equality of opportunity to enter life — to an exploration of ways of improving the many avenues to work and life, and not just higher education alone. This means that higher education will become more a part of a larger universe, rather than being a universe unto itself. This larger universe will include proprietary schools, apprenticeship programs, on-the-job training, national service programs, education in the military, and much else. Colleges will not be the one and only preferred channel to life — the one and only subsidized postsecondary port of entry into work. We have gone from elite to mass to universal-access higher education; and we will now go on from universal-access higher education to an emphasis upon the improvement of the multiple channels into life.

7. Let me add one more reason for holding to this second view, and that is that American society is again changing rapidly as it was in 1870. Then industrialization was moving with great force, as was populist sentiment. Now we are an industrialized nation and we are currently moving, I believe, in a humanistic direction — in the sense of more attention to the individual person within the society. I agree with Julian Huxley (*The Humanist Frame*) that we are moving toward an "evolutionary humanism" where there will be greater "quality and richness as against quantity and uniformity," even though I completely disagree that this will be the most profound stage of development since the emergence of "our amphibian ancestors . . . out of the world of water."

We were once a land-oriented society, then a capital investment-oriented society, and now, increasingly a human-capability oriented society. May I present one set of facts: in 1955, we spent 17 percent of our GNP on education, health, and research and development — all related to advancing human capability, while today we spend 23 percent. As part of this new orientation, we are becoming a "learning society" in the sense that many people much of the time are engaged in some directed learning experiences. The university can play a very

major role in a society increasingly oriented toward developing individual human capability; for that is the essence of its existence.

Other changes are also taking place. The "cultural revolution" may turn out to be a decisive event in world history, as were the Renaissance and the Reformation, and also the democratic revolutions in the United States and France. But it is too soon to say whether this is true or not and the "cultural revolution" is, as yet, too diffuse to speculate much about its impacts if it is true: Does it mean a new emphasis on the sensate as against the work ethic? Or that "politics takes charge" in the sense of the supremacy of absolutist ideologies? Or that the old culture must be abolished? Or that a new levelling of society into workers and soldiers and peasants will take place? I do believe, however, that new mentalities — new approaches to society — may be in the process of being born.

While standing with the second point of view that higher education will move in new directions, I do not believe that these directions will be nearly as clear-cut as those of 1870. We face a much more confused and uncertain period of change. I join with Eldon Johnson (*From Riot to Reason*) when he says that "once the university establishes the conditions for survival in its hour of greatest trial, it will have stepped on the threshold of a new era. It will have made itself again ready for advance. . . ."

Conflict.

Higher education has always known a certain amount of conflict: the student against *in loco parentis* particularly during the days of the classical college and even after that; the president against the classics-oriented faculty on the one hand, and vocationally-oriented agricultural and industrial interests on the other, after the Civil War; and the faculty against the president and trustees on behalf of their academic freedom and their senatorial authority beginning about World War I. But a consensus did develop about the role of each of the "estates" — the faculty estate, the student estate, the administrative estate, the trustee estate; about what each should do and how none should interfere unduly in the affairs of the others. The consensus came to include acceptance of such doctrines as academic freedom, institutional neutrality, and intellectual objectivity; and to embrace the three-fold functions of teaching, research, and service.

The balance among the estates has now been broken, however, not only by newly aggressive tendencies in the student estate and, some places in the faculty estate, but also by the intrusion of a new estate — the most powerful one of all — the public estate. And the internal consensus no longer holds on institutional neutrality and intellectual objectivity. *A system of estates held together by consensus*

is giving way to a public utility status marked by internal and external conflict — marked by "dissensus." Some of the new strains and tensions are:

Students want more influence outside their traditional sphere of control of extracurricular activities;

Student academic and vocational specializations are becoming more volatile, while faculty adaptability may decrease with increasing average age and a higher percentage of faculty members with tenure;

Faculty members are more sympathetic to collective bargaining — about 10 percent are now covered by collective agreements, and about 50 percent are generally favorable to unionization;

Some faculty members — about 5 percent in total and 10 to 20 percent or more in some special enclaves — are politically inclined to the left with quite divergent views about essential academic matters;

Women, and male members of racial and ethnic minorities, want to break into and move up within faculty ranks on a large scale at a time of declining opportunities;

Fewer younger faculty members will be facing more middle-age and older faculty members;

Students and faculty members have, in recent times, engaged in political activity, often against public sentiment, as never before, and experimented more with countercultural styles of life;

Around the industrial world, the more numerous intellectuals have created an "adversary culture" as against the dominant society; and the "adversary culture" has its principal home on campus. The aspirations of some intellectuals outrun the tolerance of many citizens in society;

Narrowing income differentials between the more highly educated and the less highly educated will cause social stresses, as in Sweden and Israel, that go beyond those inherent in differing cultural mentalities.

Responses to the new context.

Change and conflict, if they are indeed to be major elements of the future for higher education, will greatly affect administration.

Change will be both more necessary but not so facilitated by growth as in the recent past; and conflicts over power and over principle are much more difficult to handle than are the usual conflicts over interests (such as more or less money for this or that department) within a consensus about power and principle. Administration, as a consequence, will become more important within the totality of higher education — both change and conflict require *more* administrative talent and effort. Administration, also, will be more difficult to conduct because change comes so hard in the academic world, and conflicts can be so particularly personal and intense. Administration will probably be less rewarding than in the periods after the Civil War and after World War II when so much could be accomplished so quickly, but administrative activity will provide more opportunity for creativity than during the periods before the Civil War and between the two world wars. Unfortunately, one cannot choose when to live but one can choose whether it is or is not an interesting time to be an administrator, and periods do vary greatly in this regard.

Many administrators today, it seems to me, are concentrating on having a low profile, on personal survival. The times require, however, I believe, a more activist approach to guide constructive change and to resolve conflicts in productive ways. The administrator, whether president or dean or department chairman, or student personnel officer, or student leader needs to be concerned with adaptation to change and with adaptation to conflict. The role of the administrator today is different from that of the minister teaching and supervising morality, or of the great academic captain single-handedly setting new goals and devising new organizational forms, or of the civil servant efficiently carrying on the daily business, or of the executive driving forward a growing institution. The role is now more that of a political leader — like a mayor or governor — working with others to move in progressive ways, working with others to keep conflict within reasonable bounds, working with persuasion, working with the media, working with coalitions, working more publicly with bigger constituencies than the small establishment committees of the past. Leadership will need to be more “political” in its orientation both to internal problems and to external relations. “As the science of . . . who gets what, when and why” (Sidney Hillman), politics necessarily plays a greater role on campus in a period of change and of conflict. Becoming more “political” in method does not mean, however, becoming more “politicized” in the sense of having an ideological basis for decisions, perhaps even the contrary. New styles of administration and new adaptations of old styles are needed for the new context.

The management of change requires an analysis of which problems both need to be solved and can be solved, of the order in which

they will be taken up, the numbers of problems which can be handled at any one moment of time, of alternative solutions, of ways to select among the alternative solutions, of ways to get acceptance of the chosen solutions. Administrators in a period of change must work on the selection of goals, the procurement and assignment of means, the achievement of consent for new ways of doing things, the interpretation of the new order to interested publics beyond anything known in more static times. Each of these tasks is most difficult. I have indicated above one possible list of changes which should be confronted. Change will come. It is better, but not necessarily easier, that it be brought about by internal leadership than by external directive.

The management of conflict requires an anticipation of points of conflict, the dispersal of conflicts over time and place so that they do not inflame each other, the development in advance of agreed upon rules of the game, the incorporation of all important groups into the political processes so that each may have a stake in a peaceful solution, the creation of mediatory and adjudicative agencies, and the finding of solutions that are constructive in the long run. Conflicts, if allowed to accumulate, can become much more intense, and eternal vigilance is necessary to identify points of tension early; extra courage is necessary to confront them as they arise. Again these are tasks of great complexity. I have noted above some of the points of conflict that may require attention.

The management of change and the management of conflict are both highly complex and highly important assignments for everyone in the administration of higher education. I should like to comment, however, particularly on the difficult assignment for student personnel officers. They have been largely driven out of *in loco parentis* responsibilities. They have been largely driven out, I believe, of helping to administer the "company town" that so many campuses really are, because the "company town" becomes less and less viable. They will be drawn more and more, due to student insistence, into the very difficult area of conditions for and assistance with emotional or developmental growth. They will be drawn more and more, again due to student insistence, and despite faculty resistance, into academic affairs. I believe there should be and there will come to be a student affairs officer in each department of any size, concerned with assisting students personally, administratively, and academically. This is a major area for development of the student personnel movement.

In conclusion, administration is a means not an end; but the ends of education cannot be well served unless the administrative means are effective; and particularly in a period of change and of conflict. Lofty purposes and troubled times require the most effective of administrative approaches.

Response by Harry S. Broudy

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Whatever else we may or may not agree upon, I cannot disagree with Dr. Kerr's estimate of Dr. Henry's accomplishments as a university administrator. I can only add my own appreciation of the opportunity for collegiality with him in the Division of Higher Education amid the somewhat less than baronial surroundings of the third floor of the Armory building.

This circumstance has afforded us in the Division not only the benefits of his experience as an administrator, but also the chance to observe at close quarters the metamorphosis of a top-flight administrator into a distinguished professor. His problem was not that of becoming distinguished, but rather of returning to the role of the professor. His progress is unmistakable. For example, he has been observed sitting at his desk for long periods reading a book.

Of course his evolution or devolution is not yet complete—he does not foul up his appointments, he attends department meetings regularly, there he weighs his words carefully, as if they might be taken seriously—as indeed they are; professors entertain no such expectations.

Dr. Kerr's address raises so many fundamental issues that one is tempted to comment on too many of them. It is also tempting to project alternative analyses, because most of us have our pet theories as to what is wrong and right with the university. I shall try to cope with both temptations by confining myself to two passages in his talk and the difficulties they seem to pose for me. And instead of trying to solve these difficulties, I shall hope that Dr. Kerr or the other panelists will find it appropriate to explicate them further.

Dr. Kerr says, "...if a college education is comparatively less important in leading to a good job, it will become comparatively more

important in leading to a good life. This may well draw students toward the creative arts and the humanities."

The first part of this passage accords with recent research findings that the statistical correlation between scholastic achievement and job success is virtually insignificant. I refer to such studies as Ivar Berg's *Education and Jobs: The Great Training Robbery*, the Sterling Livingston article in the *Harvard Business Review*, and more recently the study of Christopher Jencks and associates on educational equality and economic equality. All are intended to demythologize the belief that formal schooling is the road, or at least a very important avenue, to upward economic mobility. If the researchers are right, should not the university do its best to disabuse the public rather than perpetuate the myth?

But how right are they? Do statistics on length of schooling, quality of schooling, and economic success really get at the role of formal education in occupational sorting? If the vast majority of university presidents, whose salaries vary over a broad range, hold the Ph.D. degree, the correlation of salary to years of schooling will be low. Nevertheless, it would be unrealistic to conclude that the chances of becoming a college president are equal for Ph.D.'s and college dropouts. One wonders whether the myth that is being exploded is not in the heads of the researchers.

In any event, one wonders why the "proof" of the low correlation between economic and educational investment is not transmitted to the Soviet officials who are demanding ransom money from prospective emigres based on the amount of schooling they had received. Presumably Israel stands to gain nothing of economic value from the emigre's education. Barbarous as the exit tax is, it does, at least, do education the honor of being a national asset.

If, as Dr. Kerr asserts, education is comparatively less important in leading to a good job, why do "more families have an interest in the opportunities for their children through higher education"? Partly, one must suppose, because the "good news" that a college degree is not needed for a good job has not yet reached them or that they don't believe it.

Is it because they share Dr. Kerr's belief that a college education is comparatively "more important in leading to a good life"? I submit that this belief is even shakier than the first one, first, because a college education does more to shape our *definition* of the good life than to achieve it; second, although the lecturer thinks that students seeking the good life may be drawn "more to the creative arts and the humanities," access to the creative arts and the humanities is no more confined to higher education than to vocational success.

On the contrary, the off-campus opportunities for culture are

richer than ever before, and if I do not mistake the tenor of some of the Carnegie Commission reports, it is that young people would do well to spend less time on the campus and more in pursuing off-campus opportunities. It is only on the supposition that there is a level of the good life that cannot be attained without the benefits of formal studies and the discipline of such studies that we can justify a role for higher education in the good life. For those who believe that the uncultivated life is worth living, higher education is superfluous.

If higher education is necessary neither for a good job nor a good life, it might be advisable to ask just what it is that makes the university necessary for society. What justifies, for example, Dr. Kerr's statement that higher education has become more central to society and why should society "become more concerned with it"?

This brings me to the last sentence in this quotation, viz., "Autonomy — to the extent that it ever existed — is dead." Dr. Kerr seems to be saying that because the university is increasingly becoming more involved with "political movements and new styles of life," it can no longer — if it ever could — make policy decisions on its own. Dr. Kerr's remark reminds one of the recent proclamations that God is dead — if He ever existed. As with God, so with autonomy, the question is in what sense did He or it exist?

I quite agree with Dr. Kerr that the university is headed in the direction of becoming a public service bureaucracy — virtually a branch of government — and I fully appreciate the strains that administrators will endure in playing their role in such bureaucracies, and if by autonomy is meant freedom to raise and spend funds without let or hindrance from donors or legislators, Dr. Kerr is right in doubting either its existence or possibility. However, if, as it seems to me, we are talking about the freedom to seek and teach knowledge as legitimated by the authority of the canons of inquiry in the various intellectual disciplines, then autonomy is not yet dead. It could die if the power of the purse is translated into control over the substance and methods of inquiry and teaching. But if it should die, in what sense will the university remain alive? Can the new administrators in Dr. Kerr's fifth stage preserve this type of autonomy; can they operate a university without it? How will the new administrator convey to the public the need for such autonomy, and how will he convince any faculty worth having that it is no longer necessary?

Response by Eldon Johnson

Vice-President
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

We have just heard a fitting and auspicious opening of the David D. Henry Lectures. It makes us eagerly look forward to the annual event.

What we have heard meets the rigorous test of further and deeper examination. It stirs more in thought and speculation as one reads it a second and third time. It also has about it certain aspects of a work of art: while it deals with an old theme, it permits the reader or listener to project himself and his experience into the presentation, seeing different implications. Hence it is a good thought-piece for further discussion.

I shall put my remarks into two categories: (1) points worthy of special attention, even if, or in some cases because, the reference was indeed minimal and (2) three major points capable of constructions which I believe were not intended but brevity of treatment might induce.

Points of Emphasis

1. Dr. Kerr says what some will welcome and many more will regret — there will be more rather than less administration in higher education in the future, even in *proportion* to other educational components.

2. By what he fails to say, he shows that administration has dramatically changed in the last two years. In covering administrative problems, he devotes two pages to conflict and ten to change. The implications of such proportions and the extent of their interlocking would make another appropriate lecture.

3. The kind of conflict in which we will be engaged in the future is likely to be of a new and more difficult kind: related to principles rather than interests — to unionization in the professions, to tenure,

to intellectual objectivity, and to institutional neutrality, instead of merely budgets, promotions, and parking.

4. The chief postwar change has been growth — not a new direction but more of the same — which substituted for planning or glossed over its absence. Much was “hidden behind the cloak of expanding numbers.” The future management of nongrowth change will be revolutionarily different from the management of change by growth. That sets the whole tone of, and much of the content for, the future of university administration. What the American consultant overseas soon learns is that the familiar options of opulence are nonexistent. If this new dimension puts a premium on tough-mindedness, it also cries out for courageous leadership where it has been unwelcome.

5. “The ‘ivory tower’ of yore is now becoming a regulated public utility.” This refrain persists in the lecture. “A system of estates [student, faculty, trustee, etc.] held together by consensus is giving way to a public utility of ‘dissensus’.” The increase of *public* power, not student or faculty power, is the greatest current trend in university governance.

6. The university of the future will have a genuinely new role in that new social totality which will be human capability-oriented instead of land-oriented or capital investment-oriented, as in the past. So contrary to some seeming pessimism in the lecture, the university may actually come into its own in a *more* significant way than ever before. Amid all the formal and informal ways of the “learning society” the university is bound to have a major, even if different, role. Defining it, adopting it, and realizing it will be the exciting new tasks of administration.

7. Finally, Dr. Kerr says that the “company town” which many of our universities have been running will have to go. That blunt terminology for what we have boasted about in our communities — the biggest hotel business, the biggest food business, the biggest health facility, the biggest realty interests — is bound to produce debate and thus still more grist for the administrative mill.

Points Capable of Misconstruction

1. The shrinking labor market for college graduates may have unanticipated or underemphasized results too. A happier result may be what was alluded to only in passing — a college education may at last become in fact what we have always professed it to be: *not* a vocational end but a directed, compressed, rigorous means of learning how to engage in lifetime self-instruction by more relaxed, less-structured means. If that outcome would not be so bad at the undergraduate level, it may be that a graduate reorientation will produce a net gain, too. When we exhaust our computers on the relation between Ph.D.’s

and the manpower requirements of *present* jobs, we may begin asking what kind of trained intelligence would be *more* appropriate for solving problems for which there are *as yet* no predetermined jobs or explicit disciplines. It makes no sense in our kind of emerging society to ascribe its approaching predicament to a surplus of trained intelligence. A surplus of present-type Ph.D.'s is something else, not synonymous with trained intelligence. The question is "trained *how*, for *what*?" — and the future may fortunately force us to face up to this challenge, thus snatching advanced graduate education from the grave many are now prematurely digging for it. Somewhere, somehow, administration surely has something to say on which way to go.

2. Size as a maker and conditioner of administration is variously alluded to in the lecture but nowhere dealt with directly. Dr. Kerr says that out of 2800 institutions, he is talking about 100 which have 30 percent of the students and half the money. So he concludes, "administrative problems are heavily concentrated on these campuses." Perhaps so in one sense, although that may fly in the face of economies of scale, but in another sense, certain basic administrative problems occur over and over in all institutions, regardless of size, and the way their management is put together determines the incidence on any particular administrator. Administrator and administration are separable entities. The measure of one is not the measure of the other. The subtleties of the relationship are perhaps conveyed by cogitating on the difference in the institutional impact of the departure of President Hutchins from the University of Chicago and the departure of President Roberts from Parsons College. My caution is directed against judging any particular administrative job in indispensability, difficulty, productivity, or requirements for skill in such terms of size as to rank, for example, the executive officer of a statewide governing board above the multiversity president, and the latter above a small university or college president, to say nothing of some chancellors and some deans. Since size can, both in fact and in theory, confer varying and even opposite effects in the many university functions, both academic and managerial, it is worthy of special administrative attention. If one side of size is opportunity and the other is pathology, then size with its uses and abuses is worthy of particular administrative attention.

3. In Dr. Kerr's context of universities as regulated utilities, of the need for a new kind of "political" leadership, and of the rise of public power and control, the comment is made, "Autonomy — to the extent it ever existed — is dead." I feel sure this is not meant to say "gone and just as well forgotten." Another phrase says, "The governance of higher education is less and less *by* higher education and also less and less *for* higher education." The real administrative trick is to drop out the last part of the trilogy of prepositions, preserving gover-

nance of higher education by higher education but for a societal purpose, something admittedly outside the university, in such a way as to be externally accountable but still not bereft of self-governance. We don't have to give the whole game away. We are lost as intellectual institutions if we do. This is still surely a place for continuing administrative attention and inventiveness, plus a critical look at institutional lapses which invite political intrusions.

For further discussion, it may be necessary to point out, finally, that while Dr. Kerr sometimes talks about forces of change and conflict as if independent topics, these are dependent subjects dealt with to throw light on the *administration* of higher education. The synthesis comes when he properly puts administrators on their mettle by concluding that they should be more activist in guiding change and resolving conflict; that new styles and adaptations of administration are needed; and that change had "better be brought about by internal leadership than by external directive." It is safe to predict that few will *disagree* with what he says but many will fail to do what he says.

Perhaps that illustrates the greatest administrative problem of all: even after we agree on where we ought to be, how, *concretely*, do we get from here to there?